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February 25, 2008

Thomasenia P. Duncan, Esq. General Counsel Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20463

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FEDERAL ELECTION
CONTRISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNTSEL

Re: Complaint Against Senator John McCain and John McCain 2008 Inc.

Dear Ms. Duncan:

Pursuant to the Commission's rules, 11 C.F.R. §111.4, the Democratic National Committee ("DNC"), 430 S. Capitol Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 2003, files this complaint against U.S. Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.), P.O. Box 16118, Arlington, VA 22215, a candidate for the nomination of the Republican Party for President of the U.S., and John McCain 2008, Inc. (the "McCain Campaign"), P.O. Box 16118, Arlington, VA 22215, the principal campaign committee of Senator McCain for his campaign for the Presidential nomination, for violations which have occurred or are about to occur, of the Presidential Matching Payment Account Act, 26 U.S.C. §§9031 et seq. (the "Matching Payment Act"), and the Commission's regulations.

In summary, in order to obtain the Commission's certification of matching funds, Senator McCain signed a binding agreement with the Commission to accept a spending limit and the other conditions of receiving those funds. He has now announced that he is unilaterally breaking that agreement and that he intends simply to ignore and flout the law—specifically, to ignore the all legal requirements to which he agreed and that are still binding on him. As the Chairman of the Commission has already advised him, Senator McCain is not free to do that without the Commission's approval. And there is no possibility that he will obtain such approval because he has already violated a key condition for being let out of the matching funds program: he has pledged matching funds as collateral for a loan to his campaign.

### I. Factual Background

On August 13, 2007, Senator McCain submitted his signed Candidate Agreement and Certification to the Commission, seeking certification of eligibility to receive matching funds under the Matching Payment Act. (Exhibit 1 hereto). In that Candidate Agreement and Certification letter, Senator McCain agreed to all of the provisions set forth in the Commission's rules, 11 C.F.R. §§9033.1 and 9033.2, including his express agreement that his campaign would not exceed the applicable spending limit.

On December 20, 2007, the Commission announced that it had certified Senator McCain to receive federal matching funds. (Commission News Release, Dec. 20, 2007, attached hereto as Exhibit 2). As the Commission explained in the release, to "become eligible for matching funds, candidates must raise a threshold amount" and "[o]ther requirements to be declared eligible include agreeing to an overall spending limit of approximately \$50 million, abiding by spending limits in each state, using public funds only for legitimate campaign-related expenses, keeping financial records and permitting an extensive campaign audit." Senator McCain agreed to all of these conditions in his Candidate Agreement letter.

On January 31, 2008, the McCain Campaign filed, with its year-end report, a Schedule C-1 (Exhibit 3) disclosing that the Campaign had obtained a \$4,000,000 line of credit from Fidelity & Trust Bank (the "Bank"), and had drawn \$2,971,697 of that line of credit. The loan documents consist of a Business Loan Agreement, dated as of Nov. 14, 2007 (the "Loan Agreement," attached hereto as Exhibit 4); a Commercial Security Agreement dated as of Nov. 14, 2007, between the Campaign and the Bank (the "Security Agreement," attached hereto as Exhibit 5); a Promissory Note in the principal amount of \$3 million, made by the Campaign to the Bank (the "Note"); and a Loan Modification Agreement dated Dec. 17, 2007 (the "Modification Agreement," attached hereto as Exhibit 6).

In its February 20, 2008 report, the McCain Campaign disclosed that it has expended, through January 31, 2008, approximately \$49,600,000. Since that time, almost another month has passed, during which Senator McCain has been actively campaigning and, on information and belief, has been expending considerable additional sums.

On February 6, 2007, Senator McCain sent a letter to the Commission announcing that he and his campaign are withdrawing from participation in the federal primary-election funding program established by the Matching Payment Act. On February 7, 2007, counsel for the McCain Campaign sent a letter to the U.S. Treasury announcing that the Senator and his campaign are withdrawing from the program. (Copies of the letters are attached hereto as Exhibit 7).

On February 19, 2008, Commission Chairman David Mason sent a letter to Senator McCain advising him that the Commission considers his February 6, 2008 letter

"as a request that the Commission withdraw its previous certifications" and that just as the law "required an affirmative vote of four Commissioners to make these certifications, it requires an affirmative vote of four Commissioners to withdraw them."

### II. Legal Analysis

The Commission's rules, 11 C.F.R. §9033.1, require a candidate seeking to become eligible to receive primary matching fund payments "to agree in a letter signed by the candidate to the Commission" that the candidate and the candidate's campaign will comply with the legal conditions set out in that regulation. Senator McCain signed and submitted such a letter (Exhibit 1 hereto). In Advisory Opinion 2003-35, the Commission ruled that such a letter constitutes "a binding contract with the Commission," id. at 2, and that any request for withdraw from the matching funds program will be treated as a request, "in effect, [as to] whether the Commission would consent to a rescission of this contract. Id.

In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission held that as a matter of policy, the Commission would grant such consent "to withdraw a certification of a candidate's eligibility to receive Matching Payment Act funds prior to the payment date for any such funds to such candidate or his or her committee upon receipt of a written request signed by the candidate, provided that the certification of funds has not been pledged as security for private financing." Id. at 4 (emphasis added).

In the case of Senator McCain, first, the Commission has not granted any consent to the Senator or the McCain Campaign to rescind the Senator's "binding contract with the Commission" A.O. 2003-35 at 2, i.e., his Candidate Agreement and Certification letter (Exhibit 1 hereto). Therefore, as of this time, Senator McCain and the McCain Campaign are still bound by that Candidate Agreement and Certification letter and are not free to withdraw unilaterally from the matching funds program or to ignore their legal obligations under the Candidate Agreement and Certification letter.

Second, even if and when the Commission considers the Senator's and McCain Campaign's requests to withdraw, those requests should not be granted because the Senator and his Campaign have already violated one of the key conditions for granting such a request: that they not pledge the initial certification of matching funds, i.e., the initial determination of eligibility to receive matching funds, as security for private financing. In fact, they have already done so.

To be sure, the Schedule C-1 filed by the Campaign indicated that the collateral pledged for the loan excludes "certification for federal matching funds" and "public financing." (Exhibit 3). The Loan Agreement (Exhibit 4) also represents, on page 4, that "any certification of matching funds eligibility currently possessed by [the Campaign] or obtained before January 1, 2008 and the right of" Senator McCain and the Campaign "to receive payment under these certifications are not collateral" for the loan. In fact,

however, the Campaign did effectively pledge future matching funds to be received under the initial certification, as collateral for the loan, in several ways:

(1) In the Loan Agreement, under "Affirmative Covenants," a provision entitled "Additional Requirements" provides that if the McCain Campaign withdraws from the matching funds program before the end of 2007 but Senator McCain does not win the New Hampshire primary or place within 10 points of the winner, Senator McCain will continue his candidacy, reapply for public matching funds and grant to the Bank, "as additional collateral for the Loan, a first priority perfected security interest in and to" all of the Campaign's "right, title and interest to the matching fund program." Taken in combination with the fact that Senator McCain and the Campaign had already applied for and received the certification for matching funds, this provision can only be interpreted as a present encumbrance, however conditional, of the Campaign's future interest in and entitlement to matching funds, as part of the security for the line of credit.

That conclusion is reinforced by a negative covenant, appearing under "negative Covenants," on page 3 of the Loan Agreement, under the subheading "Indebtedness and Liens." In that section, the Campaign agrees that it will not, without the Bank's consent, "transfer, mortgage, assign, pledge, lease grant a security interest in or encumber" any of the Campaign's "assets, including without limitation any of Borrower's right, title or interest in and to the public matching fund program or any matching fund entitlement thereunder, whether now existing or hereafter arising...." This negative covenant clearly implies that the Bank assumes it has a perfected security interest in all future rights of the Campaign to receive matching funds under the initial determination of eligibility.

(2) The Loan Agreement also includes a provision, on page 4, entitled "Compliance with the Federal Election Commissions Matching Funds Program," in which the Campaign agrees with the Bank that, while the Loan Agreement is in effect, the Campaign "shall not exceed overall or state spending limits set forth in the Federal Matching Funds program, if applicable." The only reason for inclusion of such a provision would be to ensure that the Campaign will continue to be entitled to receive matching funds so that the Bank can treat them as part of the Collateral.

The Modification Agreement, made on December 17, 2007 (Exhibit 6), before the Senator and Campaign purported to withdraw from the matching funds program, amends that provision to make it applicable "irrespective of whether Borrower [the Campaign] is subject to such program as of any applicable date of determination." Thus, the Bank obtained a covenant from the Campaign to abide by the spending cap while the Loan Agreement is in effect regardless of whether or not the Campaign considered itself to be participating in the matching funds program. Again, the only conceivable purpose and effect of such a covenant would be to ensure that matching funds could be received and be available as collateral for the loan.

(3) The Security Agreement (Exhibit 5), on page 1 under the provision entitled "Collateral Description," describes the collateral being pledged for the line of credit as including, generally, all "accounts, ... deposit accounts, money, other rights to payment and performance...." The next to last sentence of this description states that, "any certification of matching fund eligibility, including related rights, currently possessed by Grantor [the Campaign] or obtained before January 1, 2008, are not themselves being pledged as security...and are not themselves collateral for the indebtedness..." (emphasis added).

The description of the collateral for the loan thus does not exclude but rather includes—as of the date of the Security Agreement—rights to receive matching funds that arise, i.e., that come into existence, after January 1, 2008, based on matchable contributions received and presentations in good order made after that date, even without any new certification of initial eligibility under section 9033.4 of the Commission's rules. Again, then, under this language, the Campaign has made a current pledge and encumbrance of a future rights to receive funds under the matching funds program under and pursuant to the initial certification of matching payment eligibility made by the Commission in December 2007.

That conclusion is reinforced by the negative covenant appearing at the end of the Collateral Description, which provides that the Campaign "agrees not to sell, transfer, convey, pledge, hypothecate or otherwise transfer to any person or entity any of its present or future right, title and interest in and to the public matching fund program,....including related rights," without the Bank's consent. It makes no sense for the Security Agreement to include such a negative covenant unless it was intended that the Campaign is, in the Agreement, making a current pledge of future rights to receive matching funds.

Further, the Modification Agreement, made on December 14, 2007, changed the language of the exemption in the Collateral Description to exclude, from the Collateral, only those "certifications of matching funds eligibility, including related rights, now held by Grantor....," in place of "currently possessed by Grantor or obtained before January 1, 2008." This modification makes clear again that, although the initial amount certified in December 2007 may not be part of the Collateral, the Collateral will include future amounts of matching funds paid, based on future submissions, even though based on the initial certification of eligibility.

For these reasons, the Commission should find that the McCain Campaign and Senator McCain have pledged the certification of matching funds as security for private financing. Assuming the Commission treats the letter from Senator McCain (Exhibit 3 hereto) as a request for withdraw from the program, the Commission should deny that request.

In view of this situation, the Commission should also investigate whether the McCain Campaign has violated the reporting requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as amended, 2 U.S.C. §434(b) and the Commission's rules, 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(d)(1), by inaccurately stating on the Schedule C-1 filed with the Campaign's end of year report, that the collateral for the loan does not include "certification for federal matching funds" or "public financing."

It should also be noted that, apart from the ability to obtain the loan, the McCain Campaign has obtained a material, financial benefit from the certification of eligibility for matching funds through the ability to avail itself of the automatic right of access to the ballot, in some states. In certain states, a candidate who is certified as being eligible to receive federal matching funds is entitled to be placed on the presidential primary ballot and, if the candidate has not been so certified, his or her campaign must collect signatures on petitions in the proper form and file those petitions with the appropriate authorities—at some expense to the campaign—in order to be placed on the primary ballot. See, e.g., Kentucky Rev. Stat. §§118.581 & 118.591 (2008)(file a certification from the Commission of qualification for federal matching funds or file petitions signed by 5,000 registered and qualified voters); Mont. Code. Ann. §13-10-404 (2008)(qualify for federal matching funds or file petitions with signatures of 500 voters); 15 Del. Code Ann. §§3183-3184 (2008) (if candidate not eligible to receive payments from Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account, must file petition with at least 500 signatures of voters).

In any event, regardless of any future decision of the Commission, as of this time, Senator McCain and his campaign remain bound by the legal conditions to which they agreed in the Candidate Agreement and Certification, including compliance with the expenditure limitation. Yet the Senator and the Campaign have now informed the Commission that the Campaign no longer considers itself to be participating in the matching funds program (Exhibit 2), thus implying clearly that the Campaign intends to ignore and violate the conditions and requirements set forth in the Candidate Agreement and Certification letter.

Thus, Senator McCain and the McCain Campaign have violated, or are about to violate, the Matching Payment Act, 26 U.S.C. §9035, and the Commission's rules, 11 C.F.R. Parts 9033 and 9035.

### **CONCLUSION**

For the reasons stated above, the Commission should (1) find reason to believe, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(2), that Senator John McCain and the McCain Campaign have committed, or are about to commit, a violation of Chapter 96 of Title 26 and of the Commission's rules, and should conduct an investigation; and (2) pursuant to 26 U.S.C. §9040(c), petition the appropriate U.S. District Court for injunctive relief to implement and enforce the provisions of Chapter 96 against Senator McCain and the McCain Campaign.

Respectfully submitted,

Thomas McMahon
Executive Director

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25day of February 2008.

Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia

My commission expires:

Wilms Simms Notary Public, District of Galantils Mr. Commission Expires 7/81/8912

# **EXHIBIT 1**



August 13, 2007

The Honorable Robert D. Lenhard, Chairman Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20463

#### Dear Chairman Lenhard:

As a candidate seeking to become eligible to receive Presidential primary matching funds, I certify and agree to the following provisions as prescribed in 11 CFR §9033.1 and 11 CFR §9033.2:

- In accordance with 11 CFR §9033.2(b)(1) and 11 CFR §9033.2(b)(3), I certify that I am seeking the nomination of the Republican Party for election to the Office of President in more than one State. I and/or my authorized committee(s) have received matchable contributions, which in the aggregate exceed \$5,000 from residents of each of at least twenty States, which with respect to any one person do not exceed \$250.00.
- II. Pursuant to 11 CFR §9033.2(b)(2), I and/or my authorized committee(s) have not incurred and will not incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the expenditure limitations prescribed by 26 U.S.C. §9035 and 11 CFR §9035.
- III. In accordance with 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(1), I acknowledge that I have the burden of proving that disbursements made by me, and any of my authorized committee(s) or agents are qualified campaign expenses as defined at 11 CFR §9032.9.
- IV. Pursuant to 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(2), I and my authorized committee(s) will comply with the documentation requirements set forth in 11 CFR §9033.11.
- V. Upon the request of the Commission, I and my authorized committee(s) will supply an explanation of the connection between any disbursement made by me or my authorized committee(s) and the campaign as prescribed by 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(3).
- VI. In accordance with 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(4), I and my authorized committee(s) agree to keep and furnish to the Commission all documentation for matching fund submissions, any books, records (including bank records for all accounts) and

supporting documentation and other information that the Commission may request.

- As provided at 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(5), I and my authorized committee(s) agree to VII. keep and furnish to the Commission all documentation relating to disbursements and receipts including any books, records (including bank records for all accounts), all documentation required by this section (including those required to be maintained under 11 CFR §9033.11), and other information that the Commission may request. If I or my authorized committee(s) maintains or uses computerized information containing any of the categories of data listed in 11 CFR 59033.12(a), the committee will provide computerized magnetic media, such as magnetic tapes or magnetic diskettes, containing the computerized information at the times specified in 11 CFR \$9038.1(b)(1) that meet the requirements of 11 CFR §9033.12(b). Upon request, documentation explaining the computer system's software capabilities shall be provided and such personnel as are necessary to explain the operation of the computer system's software and the computerized information prepared or maintained by the committee(s) shall be made available.
- VIII. As prescribed at 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(6), I and my authorized committee(s) will obtain and furnish to the Commission upon request all documentation relating to funds received and disbursements made on my behalf by other political committees and organizations associated with me.
- IX. In accordance with 26 U.S.C. §9038 and 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(7), I and my authorized committee(s) shall permit an audit and an examination pursuant to 11 CFR §9038 of all receipts and disbursements, including those made by me, all authorized committee(s) and any agent or person authorized to make expenditures on my behalf or on behalf of my authorized committee(s). I and my authorized committee(s) shall also provide any material required in connection with an audit, investigation, or examination conducted pursuant to 11 CFR §9039. I and my authorized committee(s) shall facilitate the audit by making available in one central location, office space, records and such personnel as are necessary to conduct the audit and examination, and shall pay any amounts required to be repaid under 11 CFR §9038 and 11 CFR §9039.
- X. Pursuant to 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(8), the person listed below is entitled to receive matching fund payments on my behalf, which will be deposited into the listed depository, which I have designated as the campaign depository. Any change in the information required by this paragraph shall not be effective until submitted to the Commission in a letter signed by me or the Treasurer of my authorized principal campaign committee.

Name of Person: Joseph Schmuckler, Treasurer, John McCain 2008

Mailing Address: P.O. Box 16118, Arlington, Virginia 22215

Designated

Depository:

BB&T

Address:

1909 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20006

XI. Pursuant to 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(9), 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(10), and 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(11), I and my authorized committee(s) will: (A) prepare matching fund submissions in accordance with the Federal Election Commission's Guideline for Presentation in Good Order, including the provision of any magnetic media pertaining to the matching fund submissions and which conforms to the requirements specified at 11 CFR §9033.12; (B) comply with the applicable requirements of 2 U.S.C. §431 et seq. 26 U.S.C. §9031 et seq. and the Commission's regulations at 11 CFR Parts 100-300, and 9031-9039; (C) pay any civil penalties included in a conciliation agreement or otherwise imposed under 2 U.S.C. §437g against myself, any of my authorized committee(s) or any agent thereof.

XII. Pursuant to 11 CFR §9033.1(b)(12), any television commercial prepared or distributed by me or my authorized committee(s) will be prepared in a manner which ensures that the commercial contains or is accompanied by closed captioning of the oral content of the commercial to be broadcast in line 21 of the vertical blanking interval, or is capable of being viewed by deaf and hearing impaired individuals via any comparable successor technology to line 21 of the vertical blanking interval.

Signed:

Candidate Signature

\* 11 CFR §9033.2(a)(1) requires the Candidate and Committee Agreements and Certifications to be signed by the Candidate.

cc: The Honorable David M. Mason

Vice Chairman

Federal Election Commission

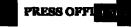
# **EXHIBIT 2**



### **FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

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### Campaign Finance Reports and Data

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Enforcement Matters

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Law & Regulations

Commission Calendar

### **News Releases**

For Immediate Release **December 20, 2007** 

Contact: Bob Blersack

George **Smaraodis** Michelle Ryan

**FEC Approves Matching Funds for 2008 Candidates** 

WASHINGTON - The Federal Election Commission (FEC/the Commission) has certified \$19,287.504.65 in federal matching funds to seven Presidential candidates for the 2008 election. These totals reflect contributions submitted by qualified candidates (including their initial threshold submissions) through December. Additional contributions may be submitted for certification on a monthly basis.

By comparison, in 2004 the first matching fund payments totaled \$15,417,353.84 to six candidates; in 2000, the first matching fund payments went to eight candidates, totaling \$34,019,496.24; in 1996, 10 candidates received \$37,353,967.40; in 1992, eight candidates received \$6,372,788.31; In 1988, 12 candidates received a total of \$28,748,261.05; In 1984, \$7,771,960.41 was paid to six candidates; in 1980, \$1,944,055.92 was paid to three candidates; and in 1976, 11 candidates received \$1,880,502.21.

The following chart lists the amount certified to each candidate.

Candidate	Certification
Joseph Biden	\$857,188.89
Christopher Dodd	\$1,447,568.09
John Edwards	\$8,825,424.82
Duncen Hunter	\$100,000
Dennis Kucinich	\$100,000
John McCain	\$5,812,197.35
Thomas Tancredo	\$2,145,125.50

To become eligible for matching funds, candidates must raise a threshold amount of \$100,000 by collecting \$5,000 in 20 different states in amounts no greater than \$250 from any individual. Other requirements to be declared eligible include agreeing to an overall spending limit of approximately \$50 million, abiding by spending limits in each state, using public funds only for legitimate campaign-related expenses, keeping financial records and permitting an extensive campaign audit.

Candidates may submit requests for funds once each month. The Commission will certify an amount to be paid by the U.S. Treasury the following month. Only contributions from individuals in amounts of no more than \$250 are matchable. Following the primary season, candidates may be entitled to receive additional matching funds to assist in winding down their campaigns or to retire debts. The maximum amount a candidate could receive is currently estimated to be about \$21 million.

The U.S. Treasury Department may pay the FEC-certified amounts beginning in January 2008. Treasury Department regulations require that funds for the convention and general election grants be set aside before any matching fund payments are made. Information provided by the Treasury Department shows the balance in the fund as of November 30, 2007 was \$166,233,140 and the Commission has estimated that no funds will be available for matching payments in January 2008. As deposits are made from tax returns in the early months of 2008, matching fund payments will be made from those deposits until all certified amounts have been paid. Based on historical patterns, the FEC estimates that funds may not be available to disburse before March 2008.

The Presidential public funding program is financed through the \$3 check-off that appears on individual income tax returns. The program has three elements: grants to parties to help fund their nominating conventions, grants available to nominees to pay for the general election campaign, and matching payments to participating candidates during the primary campaign.

In June of this year the Commission certified \$16,356,000 each to the Democratic and Republican parties for their conventions. The Commission estimates that each general election nominee will be eligible for a grant of approximately \$85 million.

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) is an independent regulatory agency that administers and enforces federal campaign finance laws. The FEC has jurisdiction over the financing of campaigns for the U.S. House, the U.S. Senate, the Presidency and the Vice Presidency. Established in 1975, the FEC is composed of six Commissioners who are nominated by the President and

# **EXHIBIT 3**

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SCHEDULE C-1			Dr.	Suppliementary for	
LOANS AND LINES OF CREDIT FROM	LENDING	INSTITUTION	FEC MA	Post 14 / 1095 Carbodule C	
Name of Committee (in Full)			DR JANES	POSHTIFICATION NUMBER	
JOHN MCCAIN 2008, INC.				AT 14: 2800430470	
	Reck Rel	o: SC-01			
LENDING INSTITUTION (LENDER) Full Name	Amount	of Lean		Interest Rate (APR)	
FIDELITY & TRUST BANK	_الــــ	4000000.00 8.5000 %			
Meiling Address 4831 CORDELL AVE.	Date inc	serred or Established	_ 🗓	14 2007	
City State Zip Code BETHESDA MD 29614-9914	Date Du	•	05/14/	2008	
A. Has loan been restructured? XNo Yes	Tyee,	into originally incurred			
B. If tine of credit,		Total 1 Outstanding			
Amount of this Draw: 297169	7.20	balance :		297 1667.20	
C. Are other parties secondarily liable for the debt incurred?  X No Yes (Endorsers and outstanders must be received on Sch. C)					
D. Are any of the following pledged as collateral for the loan; real estate, personal property, goods, negotiable instruments, certificates of deposit, challel papers, stocks, accounts receivable, cash on deposit, or other similar traditional collateral?  5000000.00					
No X Yes If yes, specify:	CERTIFICATIO	WB	Does the fer	ider have a perfected security	
FOR FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS: EST. 485,000,000 interest in It? No X Yes					
E. Are any future contributions or future receipts of interest income, pledged as  colleteral for the loan?  No X Yes If yes, specify:  Englishment of the loan of			5000000.00		
ALL FUTURE INCOME EXCEPT PUBLIC FINANCING: ESTUMATED IN  EXCESS OF \$5,000,000					
A depository account must be established pursuant to 11 CFR 100.82 and 100.142.	FIDEL	on of account LITY & TRUET BAN	K		
Data account established:		Address: 4831 CORDELL AVE.			
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F. If neither of the types of collegical described above was pledged for this lean, or if the amount pledged does not equal or exceed the loan amount, state the lights upon which this total was made and the basis on which it assures repayment.					
G. COMMITTEE TREASUREM Typed Name MR SALVATORE PURPURA (ASSISTANT TREASURER) 01 29 2008					
H. Attach a signed copy of the loan agreement.					
I. TO BE SIGNED BY THE LENDING INSTITUTION: I. To the best of this lifetilation's knowledge, the terms of the loan and other information regarding the extension of this toen are accurate as stated above.					
II. The lean was made on terms and conditions (including interest rate) no more invorable at the time then those imposed for similar extensions of credit to other berrowers of corrected worthiness.					
III.This institution is swere of the requirement that a lo with the requirements set forth at 11 CFR 100.82 a	nen must be me nel 100.142 in n	ice on a basis which a naking this loan,	seures repaym	ters, and has complied	
AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE Typed NameMR_IOHN_RICHARDSON			DATE		
Bignaturi All	THOSENA	e VD		29 2008	
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# **EXHIBIT 4**

### BUSINESS LOAN AGREEMENT

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CONTROL AND WARRANTING. Remarks employed and remarks to Laube, on of the date of the Appearant, on of the date of each Manufacturation, of of the date of any remark, extending or profilester of the lack, and of officers any interfacts and the

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# **EXHIBIT 5**

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## **EXHIBIT 6**

#### LOAN MODIFICATION AGREEMENT

THIS LOAN MODIFICATION AGREEMENT (this "Modification") is made this 17th day of December, 2007, by and between (i) FIDELITY & TRUST BANK, a Maryland banking corporation having an office at 4831 Cordell Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland 20814 ("Lender"); and (ii) JOHN MCCAIN 2008, INC., a Delewere corporation having an address of P.O. Box 16118, Artington, Virginia 22215 ("Borrower"). All capitalized terms used but not defined herein shall have the meaning attributed to such terms in the bereinsfler referenced Loan Agreement.

#### WITNESSETH THAT:

WHEREAS, pursuant to the terms and conditions of a certain Business Loan Agreement dated November 14, 2007 (as the same may be modified or amended from time to time, the "Loan Agreement"), by and between Borrower and Lender, Borrower obtained a loan and certain other financial accommodations (collectively, the "Loan") from Lender in the original principal amount of Three Million and No/100 Dollars (\$3,000,000.00); and

WHEREAS, the Loan is (i) evidenced by a certain Promissory Note dated November 14, 2007 (together with any and all extensions, resewals, modifications, amendments, replacements and substitutions thereof or therefor, the "Note"), made by Borrower and psyable to the order of Lander in the original principal amount of Three Million and No/100 Dollars (\$3,000,000.00), and (ii) secured by, among other things, a certain Commercial Security Agreement dated November 14, 2007 (as the same may be modified or amended from time to time, the "Security Agreement"), encumbering substantially all of the assets of Borrower; and

WHEREAS, Borrower has requested that the principal amount of the Loan be increased from Three Million and No/100 Dollars (\$3,000,000.00) to Four Million and No/100 Dollars (\$4,000,000.00), and Leader has agreed to increase the principal amount of the Loan pursuant to Borrower's request, subject to the terms and provisions of this Modification which shall itself evidence the increase to the principal amount of the Loan and Note, and certain other modifications to the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement and the other Loan Documents, as hereinafter provided.

NOW THEREFORE, for Ten Dollars (\$10.00) and other good and valuable consideration, the receipt and sufficiency of which are hereby acknowledged, the parties hereby agree as follows:

- 1. The foregoing recitals are hereby incorporated herein by this reference and made a part hereof, with the same force and effect as if failly set forth herein.
- 2. Subject to the terms of this Modification, the principal amount of the Loan is hereby increased from Three Million and No/100 Dollars (\$3,000,000.00) to Four Million and No/100 Dollars (\$4,000,000.00), and all references to a loan amount of "\$3,000,000.00" or "Three Million and 00/100 Dollars" set forth in the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement or any other Loan Document are hereby substituted and replaced with "\$4,000,000.00" and "Four Million and 00/100 Dollars", as applicable.
- 3. The additional One Million and No/100 Dollars (\$1,000,000.00) of Loss proceeds being made svallable to Borrower pursuant to this Modification shall be (i) disbursed in accordance with the provisions of the Losn Agreement applicable to advances and disbursements of Losn proceeds generally, and (ii) except as otherwise expressly provided in this Modification below, secured by comparable liens and security interests on all colleteral heretofore securing the Losn.

- 4. Without limiting anything set forth in this Modification to the contrary, certain provisions of the Loan Agreement are hereby modified as follows:
- (a) The peragraph entitled "Additional Requirement" set forth in the Affirmative Covenants section of the Loan Agreement is hereby deleted in its entirety and the following substituted in lieu thereof:

"Additional Requirement. Borrower and Lender agree that if Borrower withdraws from the public matching funds program, but John McCain then does not win the next primary or caucus in which he is active (which can be any primary or caucus held the name day) or does not place at least within 10 percentage points of the winner of that primary or caucus, Borrower will cause John McCain to remain an active political candidate and Borrower will, within thirty (30) days of said primary or caucus (i) reapply for public matching funds, (ii) great to Lender, as additional collateral for the Loan, a first priority perfected security interest in and to all of Borrower's right, title and interest in and to the public matching funds program, and (iii) execute and deliver to Lender such documents, instruments and agreements as Leader may require with respect to the foregoing. Borrower and Lender agree that Borrower will provide oral or written notice to Lander at least 24 hours before notice of withdrawal from the public matching funds program is provided by Borrower or John McCain to the Federal Election Commission."

(b) The paragraph entitled "COMPLIANCE WITH THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION'S MATCHING FUNDS PROGRAM" set forth in the Loan Agreement is hereby deleted in its entirety and the following substituted in lieu thereof:

"COMPLIANCE WITH THE PEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION'S MATCHING FUNDS PROGRAM. Borrower agrees and covenants with Lender that while this Agreement is in effect, Borrower shall not, without Lender's prior written consent, exceed overall or state spending limits imposed under the Federal Matching Funds Program, irrespective of whether Borrower is subject to such program as of any applicable date of determination."

(a) The paragraph entitled "STATUS OF CURRENTLY HELD CERTIFICATIONS OF MATCHING FUNDS" set forth in the Loan Agreement is hereby deleted in its entirety and the following substituted in lies thereof:

"STATUS OF CURRENTLY HELD CERTIFICATIONS OF MATCHING FUNDS. Borrower and Lender agree that any certifications of matching funds eligibility now held by Borrower, and the right of Borrower and/or John McCain to receive payment under such certifications, are not (and shall not be) colleteral for the Loan."

(d) The definition of "Colleteral" set forth in the "Definitions" section of the Loan Agreement is hereby deleted in its entirety and the following substituted in lieu thereof:

"Cellateral. The word "Collateral" means all property and assets granted as collateral accurity for the Loan, whether real or personal property, whether granted directly or indirectly, whether granted now or in the future, and whether granted in the form of a security interest, mortgage, collateral mortgage, deed of

truet, assignment, pledge, crop pledge, chattal mortgage, colleteral chattel mortgage, chattel trust, factor's lies, equipment trust, conditional sale, trust receipt, lies, charge, lies or title retention contract, lease or consignment intended as a security device, or any other security or lies interest whatsoever, whether created by law, contract, or otherwise. It is expressly understood and agreed that, "Colleteral" specifically excludes any certification of matching funds eligibility now held by Borrower and/or John McCain, and any right, title and interest of Borrower and/or John McCain to receive payments thereunder."

(e) The definition of "Note" set forth in the "Definitions" section of the Loan Agreement is hereby deleted in its entirety and the following substituted in lieu thereof:

"Note. The word "Note" means the Promissory Note dated the date hereof, executed by Borrower and psyable to the order of Lander in the original principal amount of \$3,000,000, as increased to a face amount of \$4,000,000.00 pursuant to that certain Modification Agreement dated December [7], 2007, by end between Borrower and Lander, together with all other amendments, modifications, extensions, renewals, replacements, restatements and substitutions thereof or therefor."

(f) The paragraph entitled "Colleteral Description" set forth in the Security - Agreement is hereby deleted in its entirety and the following substituted in lieu thereof;

"COLLATERAL DESCRIPTION. The word "Collateral" as used in this Agreement means the following described property, whether now owned or hereafter acquired, whether now existing or hereafter arising, and wherever located, in which Grantor is giving to Lender a security interest for the payment of the Indebtedness and performance of all other obligations under the Note and this Agreement:

All inventory, equipment, accounts (including but not limited to all health-careinsurance receivables), chattel paper, instruments (including but not limited to all promissory notes), letter-of-credit rights, letters of credit, documents, deposit accounts, investment property, money; other rights to payment and performance. and general intengibles (including but not limited to all software and all payment intengibles); all oil, gas and other minerals before extraction; all oil, gas, other minerals and accounts constituting as-entracted colleteral; all fixtures; all timber to be out; all attachments, accessions, accessories, fittings, increases, tools, parts, repairs, sumplies, and commincied goods relating to the foregoing property, and all additions, replacements of and substitutions for all or any part of the foregoing property; all insurance refunds relating to the foregoing property; all good will relating to the foregoing property; all records and data and embedded software relating to the foregoing property, and all equipment, inventory and software to utilize, create, maintain and process any such records and data on electronic media; and all supporting obligations relating to the foregoing property; all whether now existing or hereafter arising, whether now owned or hereafter acquired or whether now or hereafter subject to any rights in the forescient property; and all products and proceeds (including but not limited to all insurance payments) of or relating to the foregoing property. Grantor and Lander agree that any certifications of metahing funds eligibility, including related rights; now held by Grantor are not themselves being pladged as security for the Indebtedness and

are not themselves colleteral for the Indebtedness or subject to this Security Agreement. Grantor agrees not to sell, transfer, convey, pledge, hypothecess or otherwise transfer to any person or entity sny of its present or future right, this and interest in and to the public matching funds program or any certifications of matching funds eligibility, including related rights, issued with respect thereto without the prior written consent of Lender."

- 5. As a condition precedent to the effectiveness of this Modification, (i) the face amount of the Policy on the life of John McCain shall be increased from \$3,000,000.00 to \$4,000,000.00, (ii) evidence of such increase shall be provided by Borrower to Lander in form and substance acceptable to Londer in all respects, and (iii) the Assignment shall be deemed modified accordingly.
- 6. Borrower hereby represents and warrants that (a) as of December 17, 2007, the outstanding principal balance of the Loan was \$2,257,677.20, and all accrued and unpaid interest thereon has been paid when due, (b) there are no set-offs or defenses against, and no defaults or Events of Default under, the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement or any other Loan Document, (c) there exists no act, event or condition which, with notice or the passage of time, or both, would constitute a default or Event of Default under the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement or any other Loan Document, (d) the representations and warranties of Borrower set forth in the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement and all of the other Loan Documents are hereby remade and redated as of the date of this Modification and are true, correct and complete in all respects as of such date, and (e) the execution, delivery and performance by Borrower of this Modification (i) is within its corporate powers, (ii) has been duly authorized by all necessary corporate action, and (iii) does not require the consent or approval of any person or entity which has not already been obtained.
- 7. As a condition precedent to the effectiveness of this Modification, Borrower shall pay all of Lender's costs and expenses associated with this Modification and the transactions contemplated hereby, including, without limitation, Lender's legal fees and expenses.
- 8. The execution and delivery of this Modification and any act, proceeding or payment (past, present or future) related to the Note, the other Loan Documents or this Modification and all past or present acts or omissions taken or foregone or payments made or to be made by any party hereto or thereto in relation to such documents, shall not, did not and will not in any way constitute a release of any claims that Lender may have against Borrower or any other obligor with respect to any default or event of default under the Note and/or the other Loan Documents, and Lender specifically reserves all claims of any kind that Lender may now or hereafter have against Borrower and/or any other obligor, including without limitation, Lender's claims for payment in full of the amounts due under the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement, and the other Loan Documents, and indemnity, contribution and satoff, and any and all such rights, interests, defenses, offsets and causes of action are hereby expressly reserved and preserved.
- 9. Borrower and its representatives, successors and assigns, hereby jointly and severally, knowingly and voluntarily RELEASE, DISCHARGE, and FOREVER WAIVE and RELINQUISH any and all claims, degrands, obligations, liabilities, defenses, affirmative defenses, setoffs, counterclaims, actions, and causes of action of whateover kind or nature, whether known or unknown, which each of them has, may have, or might have or may assert now or in the future against Lender directly or indirectly, arising out of, based upon, or in any manner connected with any transaction, event, circumstance, action, failure to act, or occurrence of any sort or type, in each case related to, arising from or in connection with the Loan, whether known or unknown, and which occurred, existed, was taken, permitted, or begun prior to the date of this Modification. Borrower hereby acknowledgment of or an agrees that the execution of this Modification by Lander shall not constitute an acknowledgment of or an

admission by Lender of the existence of any such claims or of liability for any matter or precedent upon which any liability may be asserted.

- 10. In the event of a conflict between the provisions of this Modification and the provisions of the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement and/or the other Loan Documents, the provisions of this Modification shall govern and control to the estant of such conflict.
- 11. This Modification shall evidence the modifications to the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement and the other Loan Documents described herein above.
- 12. Except as hereby expressly modified, the Note, the Loan Agreement, the Security Agreement and the other Loan Documents shall be and remain unchanged and in full force and effect, and the same is hereby expressly approved, zatified and confirmed.
- 13. This Modification shall be governed by the laws of the State of Maryland and shall be binding upon and issure to the benefit of the parties hereto and their respective successors and assigns.
- 14. This Modification may be executed in any number of counterparts, each of which shall be deemed an original and all of which together shall be deemed one and the same instrument. Each party agrees to be bound by its facelanilé signature.

[remainder of page intentionally left blank -- signature page follows]

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned have executed this Modification on the day and year first above written.

Carla Atudy Name:	Bonomer: JOHN MCCAIN 2008, INC.  By:
	Landsz
	FIDELITY & TRUST BANK, a Maryland banking corporation
	Hy: Namer John Ru MARDSON Title: Street VP
State of VIIIIIII }	·
corporation, and being reasonably well known to	of John McCain 2008, Inc., a Delaware me (or satisfactorily proven) to be the person who is to do so, acknowledged the same to be the sot and
(SEAL) My commission expires: OEEMBEL 3)	(Signapure of notarial officer) [201]

ERICA L. CARRON Notary Public. Commonwealth of Virginia 7147953 My Commission Expires Dec 31, 2011

# **EXHIBIT 7**





7008 FEB -8 P 5: 00

February 6, 2008

### VIA HAND DELIVERY

The Honorable David Mason, Chairman Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463 The Honorable Ellen Weintraub, Vice Chair Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463

RE: John McCain 2008, Inc.

#### **Dear Commissioners:**

This letter is to advise you that I, on behalf of myself and John McCain 2008, Inc., my principal campaign committee, am withdrawing from participation in the federal primary-election funding program established by the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act. No funds have been paid to date by the Department of the Treasury, and the certification of funds has not been pledged as security for private financing.

I will make no further requests for matching-fund payment certifications and will not accept any matching-fund payments, including the initial amount and other amounts certified by the Commission in connection with my campaign's previous submissions. My campaign has not submitted to the Department of Treasury any bank account information and will also inform them directly of our withdrawal from the matching funds system.

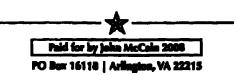
Should you have any questions or desire any additional information, please contact my counsel, Trevor Potter, at 703-418-2008.

Sincerely,

John McCain

cc: The Honorable Henry Paulson, Secretary, Dept. of the Treasury

The Honorable Judith Tillman, Commissioner, Dept. of the Treasury Financial Management Service







2008 FEB -8 ₱ 5:00

**February 7, 2008** 

### VIA HAND DELIVERY

Commissioner Judith R. Tillman Financial Management Service United States Treasury Department 401 14<sup>th</sup> Street, SW Washington, DC 20227

RE: John McCain 2008, Inc.

#### Dear Commissioner Tillman:

This letter is to advise you that Senator John McCain and John McCain 2008, Inc. have withdrawn from participation in the federal primary-election funding program established by the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act. A copy of Senator McCain's letter of withdrawal to the Federal Election Commission is enclosed.

Senator McCain and John McCain 2008, Inc. will make no requests for matching payments and will not accept matching-fund payments, including the initial amount and other amounts certified by the Federal Election Commission in connection with previous submissions. John McCain 2008, Inc. has not submitted any bank account information to the Department of Treasury.

Should you have any questions or desire any additional information, please contact me at 703-418-2008.

Sincerely,

General Counsel

John McCain 2008. Inc.

cc: The Honorable Henry Paulson, Secretary, Department of the Treasury
The Honorable David Mason, Chairman, Federal Election Commission
The Honorable Ellen Weintraub, Vice Chair, Federal Election Commission